291

/487 cont./

women" /cited in English/. More explicitly Hyades (q) :338 again writes: "The women alone wear a little triangular wrap of guanaco skin in the pubic region. It is from twelve to fifteen centimeters long and from seven to eight centimeters wide at the bottom" /translated from French/.

is renewed only after long wear; it is not customary to wash it.

Women never wear sandals; they work much more comfortably barefoot. Moreover, they must often step into water and walk around on the wet earth. They also do not have any kind of head covering (92), nor do the men and children. Their thick,

•[341]

92. Fitz-Roy (a) :176 had observed: "A small fillet is all that is worn around the head. Usually this is a mere string, made of the sinews of birds or animals" /cited in English/. This piece is a simple head ornament.

strong, and abundant hair is an adequate covering against wind and rain for the Fuegians of all ages.

3. Children's Clothing

The body covering of children corresponds to that of adults, not only in its essentials, but even in small details. The little ones, too, have no other body protection than the short back-cape which is adapted somewhat to their undeveloped bodies and made of soft leather of younger animals. The Indians do not seem to know how to prepare it carefully, hence it hangs on the dirty body of the child like an old rag. /488/ It does not occur to anyone to take care of it. Hyades says briefly (q) :330: "Children three or four years old from time to time wear a small skin on the shoulder" /translated from French/. In such scanty covering these small, shy creatures give every European the impression of great neglect and pitiful destruction.

/433 cont./

342 must be discussed below. We need only add that many individuals decorate themselves with facial paintings, if they feel like it, simply because they enjoy decking themselves out. Many mothers also do this to their small children. No one regards this reprehensibly as vanity, much less accuses them of it. Everyone is given complete freedom to do what prevailing custom approves. A European who is ignorant of this critically shakes his head when he unexpectedly meets an Indian decorated with facial painting whose neighbors are not thus adorned but accept it as a matter of course.

4. Ornaments

341 The body covering of these Indians is meager, but in contrast, their ornaments and jewelry, undifferentiated between the sexes, are more abundant. The raw materials used for these ornaments are furnished by the animal kingdom. They do not give any importance to mineral treasures, not even to the gold found in that region. These few objects serve their desire to decorate themselves and to enhance their physical charms (114).

> 114. There are a few testimonies. "Among the Paniguas, the desire for ornaments is perhaps stronger in the men than in the women" Bove (4) 288 says /translated from Italian/. Lovburn (5) 158 explains: "The passion for ornaments is predominant in the Paniguas, not only in the women, but also in the men" /translated from Italian/. Finally, Hyades (2) 242 adds: "The women, coquettes like all women, wear many more ornaments than the men do" /translated from French/.

The women and girls have bands that are almost always worn around the ankle and frequently around the wrist as well (Fig. 32). A male person almost never wears such a piece, hence it may be regarded as the exclusive property of the female

/433 cont./
•301 population. They prefer a band of guanaco leather two to three centimeters wide. The one of seal leather is less highly valued. The hair and wool is usually scraped off; if not, the woolly side is worn on the inside. This piece is pulled tight to the ankle. They bore a small hole in the end that is somewhat wider, through which they draw the other, pointed end, pull it taut, and prevent it from getting loose by tucking in the free point (see Hyades [q]:349). Often they also pull a string of tendon or a filament of whale bone through the two ends of an even band, /434/ and tie them together with a tight knot. In this case the threads inevitably stick out, which is considered less beautiful; hence some people prefer the first method. /Fig. 21 appears here./ In order to beautify these pieces, they are painted with red pigment (115). One just as often sees the

115. Lothrop (b):125 inaccurately maintains that this leather band is painted white. We are certain this would make it too conspicuous, which is something our Indians like to avoid.

[237] dried umbilical cord of the otter used as a bracelet. This is up to 30 centimeters long and about nine millimeters wide (Fig. 22). The two ends are tucked under to keep it together. Both pieces are called mun (in the dialect of the east and west) and temungnaka (in the southern dialect).

Contrary to all fact Hyades (q):296 writes that "the women never wear more than one of them on each limb" /translated from French/. Nevertheless, he showed (on Plate 12) three young women who wear this ornament on both ankles and both wrists. The only difference is that the strip of leather on their wrists seems to be noticeably narrower.

[238] Three thin, fine strands of tendon of the guanaco, sea lion, or otter are braided into a simple neck cord, known as asina. /Fig. 22 appears here./ More rarely they choose the stiff fibers of whalebone for it. The free ends are knotted. The knotted cord is drawn over the head to hang freely around the neck. Sometimes the cord is initially braided in such a manner that it can be

[Text continued on page 102.-Analyst]

301

Fig. 21. Band of Guanaco Leather. Worn on Wrist or Ankle. Two-thirds natural size.

Fig. 22. Umbilical Cord of the Otter. Worn as a Band on Wrist or Ankle. Natural size.

/434 cont./

•301 wound around two or three times, in other words, several meters long. Thicker bunches of tendon are held together by a short thread wound around them crosswise at certain intervals. This neck ornament is called hupuxkémak. "These braids are a kind of necklace for only the women; they are arranged in a number of circles, held at a single or at several points /435/ by means of a little strand of hair" /translated from French/ (Hyades [q]:349) (116). Although each of these pieces is in

116. He also says (q):299 about these: "Another type of necklace is made simply by several twists of braid worn at the neck; a glass bead from the French Mission was sometimes hung on this necklace" /translated from French/.

[237] itself greasy, they brush it with fish oil alone or with a mixture of fish oil and red pigment, so that the short fibers do not stick out unattractively.

301 237 [283] The strings of guanaco tendons separated into fine fibers are generally called amęsa uswúmi; those of whale bone, used alike for sewing and braiding, are called wápisa uswúmi. On these simple braided tendons the Indians sometimes string short pieces, fairly uniform in length and shape, of the hollow cylindrical bones of a bird, usually the cormorant. More rarely they use the well-known calcareous formations of the tube worm, which they cut into small pieces from 30 to 40 millimeters in length. The smaller and more regular they are, the more they are prized. They sometimes also insert two or four red beaks of the oyster catcher (Haematopus ater) at suitable intervals, and for some time [177] now, even coins, glass beads, and other European baubles (117).

117. Wieghardt:23 writes: "The necklace worn in two or three twists around the neck is at times adorned by a beak of the oyster bird [Haematopus ater], animal teeth, or little shells" /translated from Spanish/.

/435 cont./

301 Finally, they create a popular oddity by alternating a small piece of black bone and a small piece of white. They also have ornamental chains consisting only of small black pieces. They blacken them by saturating them with fish oil and leaving them in hot ashes for some time. The latter varieties are all known as hátus (118).

118. Hyades (q):349 mentions only one of these types: "One type of necklace very commonly worn consists of small cylinders of bird bone, evenly cut and strung" /translated from French/. One does see this type very often, as a matter of fact.

301 The ornament for the neck that is considered the most
321 beautiful is úspúka. To make it they gather pea-sized shells of Photinula violacea, known as son úspúka. They scrape off the rough and dirty calcareous surface layer by rubbing the shells with wet sand between both hands or by placing them in the pebbles on the edge of a shallow brook that has a strong current, which produces the same scouring action. This gives the little snail shells a faint opalescent sheen on a sky-blue or light pink background. They make a small hole near the outer edge by rubbing the snail shell on a rough stone. First they place all the little shells next to each other according to size, beginning with the smallest up to the largest, but from the beginning they choose them so that the difference in size between the two extremes is
301 very slight. To string them they need a cord, asína, braided with three tendon fibers and laid double (Fig. 23). They thread
[284] the lower strand through the hole of each small shell and secure the upper one with a thread running spirally around the two and pressing each individual shell tight against the preceding one (Fig. 24). This ornament /436/ is arranged in two to five equal circles, depending on its length. At one point a short thread is wrapped around all the circles to keep them together. This is the way the úspúka is worn at the neck. If they decide to make only a single strand of snail shells, they put the largest one in the center and arrange the others very accurately according to size, so that the smallest ones finish off the two ends (119).

[439] 119. This characteristic ornament of the Yamana,

[Text continues on p. 105.-Analyst]

1: Gusinde--104 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

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Fig. 23. Small Necklace. Natural size.

Fig. 24. String of Little Snail Shells.

/436 cont./

301 [439] which occasionally reached the neighboring Haus /Haush/ and Halakwulup through barter, was repeatedly mentioned by early travelers. One often sees it in the ethnographic collections of European and American museums. See Bove (c):126, Colini:722, Dabbene (b): 176, Hyades (q):300, 348, Lothrop (b):125, Wieghardt: 23, and others.

[237] Another necklace more highly prized than this is a braided cord of tendon on which short, small pieces of the dried windpipe of the /Fig. 23 appears here/ wild swan (Cygnus melanocoryphus) are very loosely strung. J. L. Myres:97 is right when he says that this "type of necklace is rare and much prized /cited in English/, for the swan seldom appears there in the south, and it is extremely difficult to obtain.

301 237 283 Finally, another necklace is described by Hyades (q):299, which I did not see. "Plaited necklace, Oupakh' ouana; this type of necklace is plaited with fibers of the intestines of young seals, Aouia ama; in the center, Itakoun, there is a fine braid, Açina, made of the sinew of a whale, which /Fig. 24 appears here/ also forms the double braid at the ends of the necklace; the fastening, Yamacéta, of the necklace is a braid made of whale tendon. It is worn only by women: Kipa tapan makou" /translated from French/.

301 The necklaces mentioned above, irrespective of type and construction, are procured by people of either sex and all ages. "The men wear these necklaces also, as well as the women and children" /translated from French/, Hyades (q):349 confirms. Older men do not decorate themselves as much with them, but /437/ older women do, and most of all the younger people. They are almost wholly a plaything for children. A woman will adorn her baby with a necklace chiefly out of a feeling of maternal happiness. The women and girls make all these types of ornament for themselves and for their male relatives, since this is [462] work for women's hands. The personal need for adornment and the vanity of each individual determine how often and how long one decorates himself with this or that piece. Unimpeded

/437 cont./

•301 independence, which is one of the character traits of these Indians, allows everyone the most complete freedom in his use of articles of adornment, just as in the painting of his body (p. 90). No one is surprised and no one would regard it as heightened vanity or an over-fondness for dress if today this person and tomorrow that one would appear, unexpectedly and without occasion, decked out with quantities of ornaments.

As such, the amount of ornaments and jewelry of these Indians is meager and simple, like all their possessions generally. Bove (c):26, exaggerating this simplicity, says: "Two or three lines of paint on the face and a necklace of shells or bird bones are the sole ornaments of a Fuegian" /translated from Spanish/. Certain occasions, however, such as general gatherings and larger social activities, have induced these people to make other, special ornaments, namely, their favorite headbands of bird feathers and down. We shall discuss these things below. Here we have mentioned and described only what belongs to their everyday life. The ornaments of our Yamana more or less re- [171] semble those of the Selk'nam, but are, on the whole, prettier, more artistic, and more varied. Here, however, we do not have [304] tattooing which their neighbors are fond of in a certain form and frequency (Vol. I, 229). Every other type of ornamentation, such as ear rings, precious stones, actual trophies, and body mutilation, are unknown down there in the unfriendly Cape Horn region.

D. Implements, Tools, Weapons

32 178 In making his essential implements, the Yamana is altogether dependent on the scant products of his homeland. Hence it is not surprising that he uses only wood, bone, and shells to make the tools that he needs in his daily work and in hunting. He has not advanced to the use of stone to any degree worth men- [135] tioning. Copper ore which is found there in certain places has never been noticed, let alone utilized. If we judge the Fuegian by the materials that he uses for his implements, it becomes obvious that he occupies a lower stage in the development of material culture than the much-sought European man of the Stone Age. The former is still actually present among us, the latter disappeared long centuries ago.

/764 cont./

857 868 little restraint on them. They are not too serious about taking care of their brothers or sisters in any case. They do, however, like to hoist a younger brother or sister on their backs and drag him around everywhere for hours; they evidently do not find it taxing or tiring. Moreover, they must perform all kinds of work for the mother in the hut, such as tending the fire, fetching kindling, arranging the sleeping places, helping to clean and stretch skins, taking all kinds of implements from the canoe to the hut, and helping to load the canoe. Naturally they also often accompany women who are going out to hunt for berries, pick fungi, and gather mussels. From their own observations, implemented by some instruction, they become acquainted with all the kinds of manual work that the women must do, namely, dressing skins, weaving baskets, making little ornamental strings, catching fish, and servicing the canoe (198).

198. Bridges (a):183 also conceded: "Girls are early taught to make baskets, plait fishlines and 'asina' (an ornamental fine plait of sinew worn on the neck), to paddle, and to do other work" /cited in English/. Elsewhere Bridges (i):22 and (h):208 repeats that girls amuse themselves "in threading berries as necklaces, paddling in the canoes, making reed baskets, or in attempts at painting faces, etc." /cited in English/.

Actual practice, such as is required of boys, is not spared the girls altogether, inasmuch as they must demonstrate to their mother or a woman neighbor their ability to do this or that work until they have acquired a certain dexterity.

857 [301] When the girl is alone or with only a few sisters, she likes to make all kinds of ornaments. When she has reached a certain age, she makes herself a few necklaces and anklets as a matter of course. It gives her great pleasure to wind and braid the tendons or string on them the smallest pieces of bone and berries. If several girls are gogether, they paint their faces with all kinds of patterns and try to outdo each other in the careful execution of this ornamentation.

/914 cont./

X881 356 participants paint their bodies. Spots of color and everything indicating that such painting has been done are removed without delay. Anyone coming to the Great Hut finds no traces of painting nor any indication that eating is done here. The fire-area, too, is /915/ carefully kept in order and the ashes always scraped to the center again if a gust of wind or a strong movement has stirred them up (337).

> 337. Formerly the ashes were scraped together with a stick; today a broom is used and the floor swept, regardless of the thick clouds of dust stirred up. Often the ashes are simply heaped up with both hands.

These efforts at cleanliness are not applied to the body itself. Without doubt the participants become even dirtier in the Great Hut where they spend a long time. This offends no one.

X881 ●301 [178] 5. Body Ornamentation. Everyone, on the other hand, is conscientiously concerned with whatever is demanded in the way of body ornamentation. In the modern period, however, this strict obligation has also been somewhat relaxed. Originally everyone in the čiéxaus hut wore the feather crown, hapaxél, even when no group singing or dancing was taking place. Although on these occasions adults nowadays tie this strip of skin with down-feathers around their foreheads, they take it off for comfort several hours of the day. This would never be permitted for the uš̌wā̆ala. The latter wear a hapaxél of the same shape and size as the one worn by adults (p. 713).

X881 302 [178] According to the ancient rule, no one may sit in the Great Hut without some kind of facial painting. In this matter, too, the people nowadays have become negligent, for they paint themselves for the most part in the evening only, just before the dances. A single red line as wide as a finger from the nostrils across the cheek to the ear lobe suffices, and it is very quickly applied. Soon after getting up, instead of washing themselves as we do, every adult draws this line on his face. If it should be rubbed off, as is unavoidable, it is easily renewed. This is the simplest form of facial painting. A person who feels like it will decorate

/916 cont./

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who uses the latter pours the fine powder /917/ into a mussel shell or into the hollow of his left hand, stirs it with saliva or with a few drops of water, and smears this mixture on his body with the palms of both hands. It quickly dries near the fire and looks dazzling. In order to rub it into the hair, they use čílēr, a small ball of fine wood shavings of Berberis ilicifolia, which is saturated with it. The red pigment is mixed with blubber, and

[824]

[301]

Fig. 85. Facial Painting of the Adult Participants.

they use the little painting stick to draw the fine lines; wider lines and dots are made with the index finger.

Nowadays people generally deplore the indolence of many adults who are scarcely able to summon the energy for the simplest facial painting for a few hours a day. With these empty complaints, however, they let the matter rest. Formerly a glance into the čiéxaus hut must have excited remarkable reactions when the white color all over the bodies of the participants squatting on the

/944 cont./

X 881 524 him carefully and try to guess who he was, exchanging observations with glances or in a very low voice. The masker would leave after a while, without having identified himself. At any rate, this strange visit offered the gathering a refreshing change.

X 881 574 7. Visits. It is convenient to add to our description of songs and dances a brief discussion of the ceremonious visits of a separate group of people to the ʸčiéxaus hut on any day. It is easy to guess the reason for this custom. Of necessity a few older persons remain behind in the camp while the ʸčiéxaus celebration is going on in the Great Hut, either on account of illness or to care for the small children. They are, of course, free to come at any time, but the entire assembly also wants to thank formally those who /945/ devote themselves to the supervision of the camp. The solemn welcome is supposed to be a substitute to the outsiders for all the lovely things they must forgo. On their part, the inmates of the Great Hut feel honored by the interest of those persons who come on one occasion or another to the ʸčiéxaus gathering. Naturally, only adults who have gone through an initiation may enter.

The visit would not take place under any circumstances unless there had been an announcement from one side or the other. Usually the outsiders who feel a compulsion to spend an evening once again among their fellow-tribesmen announce themselves. They inform the leader of their intention, either through the kitchen women or directly. Some preparation must be undertaken within the Great Hut; it would be quite impossible for the group of visitors to come there abruptly.

X 881 574 302 A good, accurate facial decoration, such as is customary for visits, is the only special preparation the visitors must make. It is unnecessary for them to paint the body. This is not the case for the people in the ʸčiéxaus hut, who, besides their facial painting, also decorate the whole body. A background of white pigment is first applied on the face and body. Over this a red line the width of a finger runs from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. Over the whole body, as well as on arms and legs, finger-thick red rings are drawn and spaced a hand's breadth apart. Everyone, [301] of course, wears his hapaxél. The ʸuwáala are decorated with particular care on this occasion to prove to the visitors how attentively the candidates are cared for.

/1117 cont./

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observers quite generally call black the color of mourning. Hyades (g):39, for example, writes: "They also wear outward signs of mourning, black body painting."

In addition, particular drawings are used to indicate any kind of violent death. If a person has fallen from a cliff or from a tree, one first of all rubs his face with fine powdered charcoal and over that paints three vertical white lines, namely, from the bridge of the nose to the tip and on down from the mouth to the chin, and on both sides of the face from the outer corners of the eyes over the cheek bones and down to the edges of the jaw. These marks are separated by a white cross-stripe over the eyes and nose to complete the pattern. There is another somewhat more complicated design. First, a black background is put over the whole face. Over it, on one side of the face beginning at the eye, three white vertical lines are drawn to the edge of the jaw and a fourth stripe from the bridge of the nose to the tip of the chin. The other half of the face remains uniformly black or has three white cross-stripes from the corner of the mouth, the nostril, and the outer edge of the eye. The white lines, which symbolize the cliff or the tree, are sometimes also applied on a black background. Now and then the three cross-stripes are made with a mixture of white lime and black powdered charcoal stirred up with blubber. This last procedure is almost regularly used by the messengers who spread the news of the accident. Others recognize from afar the substance of their report.

/1118/ A considerable number of Yamana die by drowning. In order to announce this type of death the people mix white and black pigments and rub the mixture over the lower part of the face down to the mouth. This gray mixture resembles the slimy sediment on the sea floor with which the mouth of a drowned person is filled. In addition, they put a strip of skin with white down feathers around their foreheads, which indicates the foam-crested waves in which the unfortunate one was drowned. The painted area which extends down to the mouth and not beyond is meant to show that a great deal of water entered the mouth (61). Sometimes

[301]

61. Bridges (MM:X, 80;1875) mentions that

/1130 cont./

765 Almost all participants prefer the design which indicates
302 the cause of death of the one who is especially mourned. Actually the visitors exert a good deal of effort and care to show how honestly and sincerely they are participating in the event. /Fig. 89 appears here./ Definite pressure is put upon those present when a murder has been committed; they express this in their facial painting, for everything serves the

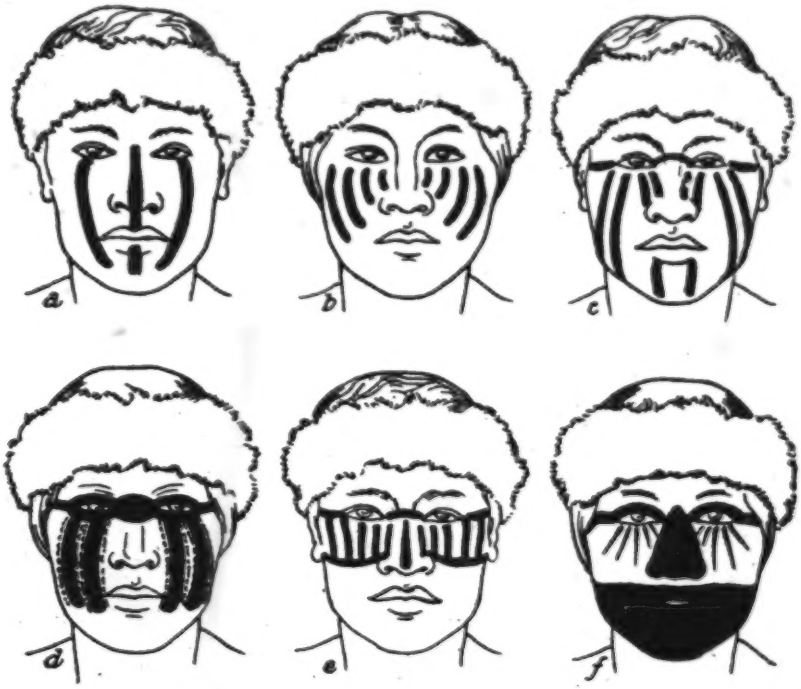

Fig. 89. Patterns of Painting for Mourning.

purpose of intimidating the culprit and his circle of kinsmen. In this case they prefer the following design: one side of the face is uniformly black; on the other side are alternating vertical rows of red and white dots placed close together.

765 The people are busy for some time in preparing their facial
● 301 painting; they also wind the hapakél around their foreheads. This
825 decoration, also called hapaxél, is a rather large triangular piece

/1130 cont./

765 of skin with white down-feathers taken from
● 301 the male Molinas goose (Chloephaga hybrida
[825] /Kelp goose/). The people obtain this fore-
head decoration when these geese are nesting;
during this time /1131/ they are lean and the
thin skin does not have the abundant fat that
is present at other times. /Fig. 90 appears
here./ A hapakēl is like the kŏčel of the
Selk'nam (Vol. I, 215) in size and shape.
In recent times not all the adults make an
effort to obtain this ornament which is
actually seldom used. Instead, at a general
funeral ceremony, they use the narrow band
of skin with down, also called hapaxēl, which
they always have available and frequently use.

765 The club is part of the equipment of
293 those who take part in the so-called fight of
the yamalašemŏina. It is justifiably regarded
as an ornamental club. No one would be
permitted to come with a plain stick that he
has just picked up or one used to kill a sea
lion. This club is used for no other purpose.
It is carefully carved out of a flawless small
trunk, is about 160 to 190 centimeters long,
has an angular or rounded surface and gently
tapers from one end to the other (Fig. 90).
It is regularly painted white, or red if one is
commemorating a murder. Actually the
women should also provide themselves with
a club, but sometimes they do not have it
and make do with an ordinary paddle which
they paint. At the dances in the hut every-
one uses the short dance-staff carried during
the čiēxaus ceremony, for it obviously helps
to emphasize the rhythmic movements of
the body.

765 The long-continued singing and
533 lamenting, sighing, and groaning are
152

Fig. 90. Ornamental Club.

/1465 cont./

2. Art Activity

301 The many occasions that show how much the Yamana loves ornamentation have already been mentioned. For some of the people, body cleanliness is far less important than their desire to please others with the beauty of their bodies or with special ornaments. This type of vanity is consciously instilled even in children, and no one sees anything wrong in it. For this reason many persons acquire several ornaments at once and prefer to display those that are conspicuous or that come from a remote region. There are also persons who paint themselves every day just for the fun of it. Since a visitor, as a rule, is supposed to wear a facial painting when he presents himself (pp. 96, 922), many people spend a great deal of time and effort on it, so that they will be admired. It would not do, however, to maintain with Bove (e): 157: "The eagerness for ornamentation seems to be even stronger among the men than among the women." In the one sex as well as the other there are individuals who far surpass most of the people in their passion to please.

237 301 Their excessive desire to please leads them to avail themselves of definite ornaments, besides the actual body painting in all its forms. Ankle bands (p. 99) are of a simple type; necklaces are more elaborate. Either the fine fibers of guanaco or whale tendon are plaited into a long cord and worn in several loops, or the latter is used to string short pieces of bone or small shells, *šón ŭšpúka*, of *Photinula violacea* are tied to it close together. These are the basic forms of the necklaces worn by the Yamana. Each of them also has certain unique touches. The small pieces of bone may be longer or shorter; clearly recognizable rings are incised in each of the longer ones, which are then supposed to look like small pieces. Moreover, the pieces that are naturally whitish are alternated with some that have been purposely blackened (p. 103). Finally, as a special pendant, the red beak of the oyster catcher (*Haematopus ater*, Fig. 76) is attached in the center, or four to six of these beaks are distributed along the lower half of the necklace (Fig. 103). Instead of the short pieces cut from thin, hollow bird bones, the Yamana, for variety, also string the short calcareous tubes of sea worms on a long tendon. Such small pieces

/1466/

237
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Fig. 103. Necklace. Two-thirds natural size.

/1465 cont./

237 are not very regular, however; hence /1466/ /Fig. 103 appears here./ /1467/ this whole assemblage is not valued very much 301 (Fig. 104). The simplest ornaments are those with only a single mussel shell or a small beak of a bird, or several of these pieces, hanging on the tendon. A long string of Photinula shells is regarded as the most beautiful and valuable neck ornament, for it

Fig. 104. Necklace. One-third natural size.

requires great care to make (Fig. 23). /Fig. 104 appears here./ 301 For this reason no woman who thinks well of herself is without this piece, which is sometimes more than three meters long. Fitz-Roy (a):201, and later Bridges (i):23, recognized that "the Fuegian necklaces show some ingenuity in those who make them, . . . that one is, at first, inclined to doubt their being the manufacture of such uncouth savages" /cited in English/. Spegazzini (a):161, too, does not refuse to acknowledge that these things represent "such careful work that they do not lack beauty" /translated from Spanish/. They indicate a well-developed, sensitive taste. The

/1467 cont./

301 same thing must be said about the feather ornament, which can be seen on various ceremonial occasions in the čiéxaus (pp. 717, 790) and at the ceremonies of mourning (p. 1083) as kapaxĕl, a larger triangular piece of skin, or kwaxwĕxeni, a band of skin two fingers wide and covered with down. The apawĕ-a is only worn by the yĕkamuš, who regularly puts it on when he is practicing his calling (p. 1307).

304 It has been proved that the Yamana do not practice any kind of intentional body mutilation (p. 106), and Hyades (b):1345 agrees with various observers that "there are no deformations or ethnic mutilations" /translated from French/. Fitz-Roy (a):138 is also correct when he maintains: "No ornaments are worn in the nose, ears, or lips, nor on the fingers" /cited in English/. Bridges (h):206, Bove (e):157 and (g):234, and Hyades (d):306 and (p):329, as well as other travelers, emphatically deny that the Yamana are acquainted with tattooing. Nevertheless, I was able to prove that, to a modest extent, it was formerly practiced on the candidates in the čiéxaus (p. 715), not, however, for beauty. In the

302 most recent times it has been replaced by a special body painting, either that described on page 717, or the entire upper part of the body is painted uniformly white and two finger-thick, red parallel lines are drawn close together from the farthest lateral projection /1468/ of one shoulder to the other in an arc that extends over the chest and back (cf. Fig. 21 of the photogravure plates /at the end of this work/). This painting is used only for the čiéxaus.

[538] Our Yamana are acquainted with neither poetry nor proverbs,
533 but in the syllables constantly repeated in their songs, there is an agreeable rhythm and a rich sound; they do not have a definite meaning, however. The melodies are always merely short movements with simple motifs. The syllables, made up of the same or a few different sounds, are either repeated on a single pitch or in a variant in which the third predominates. Gay melodies are clearly distinguishable from sad ones (368). The Yamana like to sing:

368. Bridges (a):207 established that "The singing of these Indians is of different kinds" /cited in English/. According to Hyades (p):330, "the song is usually gay; it is made

1: Guinée--1455 E-6 (1918-1924) 1927 5196 Yaligan 5196

Kina Spirit

Kina Spirit

Kina-talaswila

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

1: Grennde--1456 B-1 (1910-1924) 1927 Still Tx\gas size

301 165 182 162

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

Mourning Painting

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I. Grenado—1457 E-5 (1910-1924) 1937 Sitio Yahgan 5016

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Antarctic Beetles

Mourning Painting

Men Painting Themselves

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Northeast of Beagle Channel

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white, war and ritual; black, mourning. Designs were very simple, confined to lines, dots, and, less commonly, circles.

Red symbolized Peace;

Ornaments.—Personal adornments were: necklaces, of sections of bird leg bones strung on braided sinew, of strung punched shells (*Photinula violacea*), or of frapped hanks of braided sinew, often colored red; bone or shell pendants, sometimes attached to the necklaces; and wristlets and anklets of sinew and hide. Feather diadems and bird-skin, feather, or down-ornamented fillets or forehead caps were also used.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes.—Travel by the *Yahgan* was almost entirely by water. Their earlier sole form of watercraft was the built-up bark canoe, of a crescent or gondola shape that characterizes other craft well up the west coast of South America to Perú; the plank boat, the *Araucanian* dugout, the seal-hide float, and the double-ended reed balsa were absent (Lothrop, 1932 a, pp. 253–54).

The *Yahgan* canoe (pls. 34, 35) was made of three strips of beech bark, one-half inch to more than an inch (1.2 to 2.5 cm.) thick, which ordinarily formed the bottom and two sides respectively. Average length was about 15 feet (5 m.), with a range from about 12 to 20 feet (4 to 7 m.); gunwale to gunwale width in center, about 3 feet (1 m.); depth in center, about 2 feet (0.6 m.). The bark, taken only from the evergreen beech (*Nothofagus betuloides*), was stripped off in the spring, when the sap was running. In removing the bark from the tree, the natives used a bone chisel or mussel-shell knife to cut it and a bone barking tool to strip it, and in ascending the tree held themselves thereto with a strong rawhide thong. After smoothing the bark on both sides with a small chisel, they cut it into three cigar-shaped pieces. These pieces were then sewn together with whalebone or with shreddings of warmed saplings, the seams being wadded with the stringy seams of wild celery grass or with moss mixed with mud. The gunwales were next lashed on. The ribs, of split Winter's bark, were then fitted in and locked in place under the gunwales. The thwarts, usually five or six, of hardwood, were inserted and lashed to the gunwale.

The fireplace was set amidships. The paddle was in one piece with a long lanceolate blade and short round-section handle without crosspiece or other grip. The *Yahgan* canoe leaked much; the cylindrical bailers (pl. 33, *e*) were usually of bark or sealskin. Sealskin thongs and braided grass ropes were used as mooring lines. The construction and repair of the canoe were the man's task; but its management, including paddling and mooring off shore in a kelp bed, were the woman's. In a sense, she was mistress of the canoe, with its hearth and ever-lighted fire. In a favorable wind a crude sail, made of a sealskin or

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291 Women wear rather more clothing, that is, they have nearly the whole skin of a guanaco, or seal, wrapped about them, and usually a diminutive apron. The upper part of the wrapper, above a string which is tied around the waist, serves to carry an infant. Neither men nor women have any substitute for shoes.

302 Both sexes oil themselves, or rub their bodies with grease; and daub their faces and bodies with red, black, or white. A fillet is often worn 301 around the head, which upon ordinary occasions is simply a string, made of sinews; but if going to war or dressed for show, the fillet is ornamented with white down, white feathers, or pieces of cloth, if they have obtained any from shipping. . . .

411 It is rather curious that each of these natives is trained to a particular pursuit: thus, one becomes an adept with the spear; another with the sling; another with a bow and arrows; but this excellence in one line does not hinder their attaining a considerable proficiency in all the others.

266 Before entering on the details of Yahgan life we shall dwell briefly on the charges of savagery and cannibalism made by numerous writers. As early as 1600 the Alacaluf were thought to be cannibals, for in that year Van Noort marooned on Santa Maria island one of his officers charged with insubordination, in the belief that he would die of hunger or be eaten by the savages. A quarter of a century later Jaques L'Hermite charged the Yahgan with cannibalism. In more recent years Darwin and Fitzroy have repeated the accusation on hearsay evidence, and their dictum has been widely published. However, no white man has ever witnessed the act of anthropophagy among any of the Fuegian tribes, while in recent years those who have lived with the natives and come to know them well all agree that the idea of eating human flesh is as repugnant to a Fuegian as to a European. According to Martial (p. 193) the Yahgan ordinarily do not eat dog, fox, or rat, because these animals will eat human flesh.

648 The imputation of barbarity, on the other hand, rests on firmer ground, for there are well-authenticated instances of attack by the Yahgan on European crews. The earliest of these resulted in the death at Nassau bay in 1624 of seventeen men from L'Hermite's ships; the most widely published was the massacre at Woolyia in 1859 of the crew of the missionary schooner *Allen Gardiner*. What provoked these attacks is a secret intombed with their victims. Early voyagers habitually kidnapped natives to serve as pilots and thus aroused merited resentment. Native women often have

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The chief form of decoration seems to have been facial and body painting, which was freely employed in the old days. The materials used are mentioned below. While paint was often applied with the finger, an elaboration over the Ona practice is seen in the use of a small spatula (*telákikamána*). One of these is illustrated in fig. 69, *d*. The Yahgan did not tattoo.

Feather diadems and goose-down forehead caps were worn at times, but their purpose was more ceremonial than utilitarian or decorative, and will be discussed below.

Wristlets and anklets were worn, but not so generally as among the Ona. The common type (*maíamasár*) is not braided of grass or sinew in Ona fashion, but consists of a narrow band of guanaco-hide painted white (fig. 48). This was attached in place with small sinew laces.

FIG. 48.—Yahgan guanaco-hide wristlet. (14/2358)

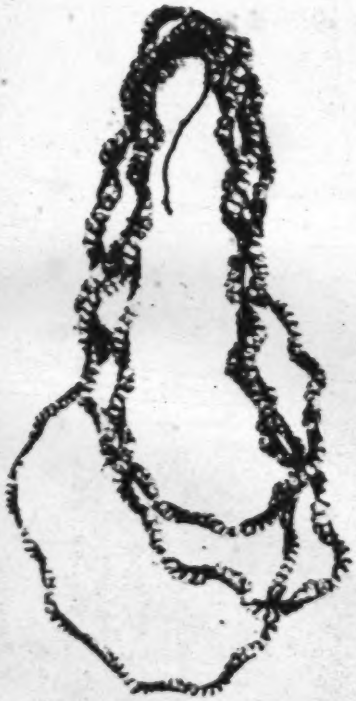

FIG. 49.—Yahgan shell necklace. Total circumference, 96 in. (14/2341)

Of necklaces the Yahgan made two kinds. The simpler type is constructed with cylindrical sections cut from the leg-bones of gulls or of ducks and strung on braided sinew. A more elaborate and attractive necklace (*opúrrshka*) they made from small shells (Latin, *Photinula violacea;* Yahgan, *haúsh undálu*) found in the kelp (*haúsh*) which fringes the coast (fig. 49). When polished by use, beautiful opalescent tints appear in these shells. The Yahgan strung them by punching

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301 a small hole near the lip of the shell. Through these holes a braided sinew cord was run, doubled back on itself, and lashed with spiral wrappings of sinew. This method of stringing is illustrated in fig. 50. The shells thus united are always graded according to size, sometimes with the biggest shell at one end and the smallest at the other, sometimes with the big shells in the middle and the small ones at either end.

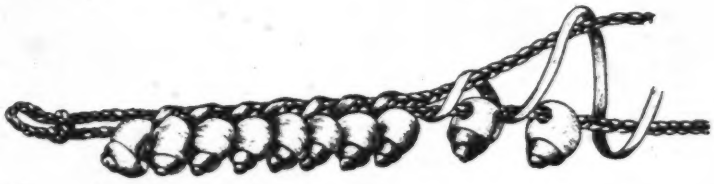

FIG. 50.—Detail of Yahgan shell necklace. Length of shells, one-half in. (14/2339)

USE OF PAINT

386 822 Like the Ona, the Yahgan made regular use of a red paint (*ímí*) obtained by burning earth, a black paint (*yapúshak*) made of charcoal, and a white paint (*tum'rápo*) of clay. According to Fitzroy (p. 177) and Dabbene (1907, p. 58) these colors have symbolic significance. Thus, white was the sign of war or ceremonial display, black was the mark of grief and mourning, while red denoted peace and happiness. With their paints the Indians 531 adorned their persons, their dance masks, their ceremonial lodges, and some of their tools and utensils. The latter were often embellished with solid color, but body, dance masks, and ceremonial lodges were made the field for painted designs.

In pl. IX is shown a selection of patterns taken from the frame of a ceremonial lodge. No simpler motives of artistic significance can be achieved, for these designs are mere smudges of color applied with thumb or finger. The elements are a dot, a short line, and, in one instance, a circle. Two lines are combined to form a cross, a T, and a chevron. Design units repeat themselves in simple rhythm.

Dance masks are illustrated in figs. 92 and 93. Their designs, though of symbolic significance, are again abysmally primitive. Facial painting may be studied in the photographs published by Koppers (1924); they are similar to the patterns here described.